DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 230 662 UD 022 838

AUTHOR Damico, Sandra Bowman
TITLE The Two Worlds of School: Differences in the Photographs of Black and White Adolescents.
PUB DATE Apr 83
NOTE 20p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Montreal, Quebec, Canada, April, 1983).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Black Students; Cultural Differences; Educational Environment; Junior High Schools; Photographs; *Racial Attitudes; *Racial Differences; Sex Differences; *Social Cognition; *Sociocultural Patterns; *Student Attitudes; *Visual Perception; White Students

ABSTRACT

This paper presents a study conducted to document adolescents' visual perceptions of school. Specifically, an attempt was made to determine whether black and white adolescents, when given cameras, an entire school day, and complete freedom from class assignments, would select different physical and social aspects of their school environment to photograph, and if so, whether these differences were governed by classroom social role or race. Participants consisted of 82 middle level grade students from two different Florida communities, 41 of whom were identified as class clowns. Results show that: (1) no significant differences occurred between the photographs taken by clown and nonclowns, but many occurred between those of white and black adolescents; (2) the private world of the adolescent is defined by race; (3) black students were more responsive to the people in their environment than were white students; (4) there was a difference in the perception of females by black and white males; and (5) photographs by white students tended to reflect criticism of their surroundings more than those by blacks. The study concludes that many black students have successfully learned how to occupy social roles within the classroom, although their perceptions of school differ from those of whites. Appended to the report are statistical data. (AOS)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED230662

THE TWO WORLDS OF SCHOOLS

DIFFERENCES IN THE PHOTOGRAPHS OF BLACK AND WHITE ADOLESCENTS

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Sandra Bowman Damico
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
✓ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

Sandra Bowman Damico
University of Florida

Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Montreal, April 1983

THE TWO WORLDS OF SCHOOL
DIFFERENCES IN THE PHOTOGRAPHS OF BLACK AND WHITE ADOLESCENTS

> *...photographs are evidence of not only what's there but of what an individual sees, not just a record but an evaluation of the world.*
>
> Susan Sontag, On Photography

The purpose of this study was to document adolescents' visual perceptions of school and to determine whether there were any differences by either social role occupied within the classroom or by race. This research was an outgrowth of earlier work on the effect of occupation of the social role of class clown on various dimensions of adolescent personality and behavior; findings from this study had been consistent with earlier research on the attitudes and social behaviors of adult "wits" (Goodchilds, 1959, 1972; Goodchilds and Smith, 1974; O'Connel, 1969). In the class clown study (Damico & Purkey, 1978; Damico, 1980, 1981) classroom social role was found to be more salient than race in predicting response patterns; however, continued study of middle schools (Damico, et al., 1980, 1981, in press) clearly indicated that race was one of the most important variables in determining perceptions of school environments. This present study sought to reconcile these two conflicting sets of findings.

For at least the last twenty years anthropologists and cross-cultural psychologists have been studying the relationship between socialization experiences in non-Western cultures and their impact on perception and cognition (Cole, Gay Glick & Sharp, 1971; Cole & Scribner, 1974; Greenfield & Bruner, 1971). The results of these researches seem to indicate that it is the interaction between biological, ecological, and sociological factors which affect information processing including concept formation and perception (Werner, 1979). Within the past few years researchers have begun applying the same rationale to the study of differential achievement among American subcultural groups, especially Blacks. Of particular concern for this present research is the growing body of literature which indicates that the socialization experiences of Blacks causes them to focus on <u>people</u> stimuli while Whites learn to focus on <u>objects</u>. In a recent review of the research on the relationship between socialization experiences and Black cognitive style, Shade (1982) concluded:

> *...it seems very possible that the differences in performance which relate to the school context and which continue to be found are the result of a culturally induced difference in Afro-American cognitive or perceptual style preference which*

> *emphasizes a person rather than an object orientation. Although this style is probably of tremendous advantage in social and interpersonal situations, it may be antithetical to school success (p. 236).*

If Black and White Americans are indeed socialized to attend to different stimuli in their environment we would expect differences to show up between the sets of photographs each would take of school. But since there had been no race differences, but many social role differences, in the initial study it could not *a priori* be assumed that race would override role in selection of material to include within a set of photographs of school. Therefore, this project sought to determine whether Black and White adolescents, when given cameras, an entire school day, and complete freedom from class assignments, would: (1) select different physical and social aspects of their school enviornment to photograph, and if so, (2) would these differences be governed by social role or race. If race were found to be the variable affecting visual perceptions of school, an additional question would be asked: were the differences between the visual features of the school environment to which Blacks and Whites attened consistent with the growing body of literature on the effects of differential socialization on perception.

While the use of photography as a research tool has been steadily increasing in sociology and anthropology (Wagner, 1979) its primary use has been to inventory artifacts, record natural groups of people at events, as an interview stimuli, and most recently, as a tool in program evaluation. All of these uses have in common the "outsider" taking a photograph of someone or something else. There have, however, been some noteworthy exceptions to this approach. Perhaps the best known is Worth and Adair's (1972) study in which they taught six Navajo to use a movie camera to record their culture as they experienced it; the findings confirmed the value of this approach. The Navajo films were very different in content and organization from those made by Anglo filmmakers and were consistent with documented aspects of Navajo world view. But movie cameras are more expensive and difficult to use than still photography, especially by children. Fortunately, Ziller and his associates (1975, 1977a, 1977b, 1980, 1981) have found that an individual's photographs provide insights into their perceptual worlds that are difficult to tap even with other projective techniques; in fact, they were discovered to be a rich data source. In summing up their experiences with photographic data, Ziller and Smith (1977b, p. 76) conclude: "The photographic approach overcomes some of the shortcomings of verbal self-reports in communicating perceptions of the environment, thereby facilitating the revelation of orientations of which the subject may only be dimly aware." Given the findings of Worth and Adair plus those of Ziller, et al., it was felt that a series of photographs taken by Black and White adolescents might provide insights into aspects of their social and psychological worlds which have alluded us with our more traditional measures.

Method

Sample:

Three middle schools (grades 6, 7, & 8) Participated in this study. They were selected from among the 11 schools which had participated in the initial study of adolescent clowns. School selection was based on willingness to participate, efficiency with which original data had been collected and returned, and variations in type of community. Two of the schools were located in the central part of Florida -- one a rural district and the other a suburban community. The third school was located in the southern part of the state in a mid--sized city noted for its fishing and tourist industries. None of the schools were in university communities.

All eighth graders in each of the participating schools completed a sociometric scale which asked students to nominate classmates to four social and task-oriented school roles; embedded among these was the role of clown.

> *Most classrooms have a few students who joke a lot and make others in the room laugh. These are the "Class Clowns." Please list below the names (first and last) of students you know who clown around a lot.*

Analysis of frequency patterns of nominations resulted in the identification of 41 class clowns. The 41 class clowns in the sample were then matched by their teachers with nonclown classmates on the basis of sex, race, academic achievement, and perceived popularity. Thus 82 students participated in this study. Of those participating, 70 were White and 12 were Black. The number of Blacks included within this sample proportionally represented the number of Blacks within the schools sampled; this had been true also in the sample of class clowns in the initial study.

Procedures:

Each school was visited in turn. On the morning of the visit all participating students, clowns, and nonclowns, met with the researcher. In two of the schools students were unaware of the basis for their selection; they were merely told they were participating in a university study. When contrasts were made between the photographs of those students who knew they were participating in a study of class clowns and those who didn't, no differences in either photographic compositions or themes were noted.

Students were paired and each pair given an instamatic camera. They were verbally given the following instructions and then permitted to ask questions about the assignment:

> *Pretend you are writing to a pen pal whom you have never met. In your letter you want to describe your school and yourself. You decide that it would help to include a series of photographs. That is what you will be doing today.*

Taking the photographs you would send in your letter. Since I am not familiar with your school, please write on a sheet of paper a description of each picture you take.

Students were then given explicit directions on how to record the exposure number, their name, and the title or object of each photograph. These directions permitted students to vary the order in which they could take their set of photographs. That is, two students might decide that one would take the first six exposures and then turn the camera over to the second, or they could take as few or many as they desired in any order. The use of student pairs also provided an individual who could take photographs of "self" when desired.

In all schools teachers permitted participating students to be excused from all classes for the day and from the necessity of having to make up any missed work. Students were provided with passes which gave them access to all parts of the school. Furthermore, students were permitted to take nonparticipating students and/or teachers out of classrooms for photographs or to enter any class for the purpose of taking a photograph. These conditions provided students with the time and freedom of movement to carefully decide on the subject matter of each photograph.

No student expressed or encountered any technical difficulty with the use of the instamatic camera. In fact, a number of students volunteered descriptions of the cameras which they personally owned. Additionally, the use of a still camera is not an unusual cultural event which might have affected the content of the photographs. Based on his experience with this mode, Milgram (1977, p. 52) has noted that "The culture of photography is so widespread, and the normality of taking pictures so deeply rooted, that everyone understood what it meant to be photographed..." Thus, while most adolescents do not normally take photographs of school, the task itself was not unfamiliar.

Data Coding:

The 383 usable photographs included within this study were coded using a modification of the system developed by Musello (1979) for the analysis of family photograph albums. All photographs were coded to answer three basic questions: (1) what types of individuals were included in what types of photographs; (2) where were the photographs taken; and (3) the themes or topics included within photographs. While these photographs were coded by only one person, each was independently coded on all variables three times spread over a two month period resulting in an internal consistency coefficient of .94 (Kerlinger, 1979).

The data were analyzed using a t-test for differences between two proportions for uncorrelated data. For comparisons between White and Black students, a pooled estimate of the standard error was used to compensate for differences in sample size. The number of photographs produced by differing segments of the student population were as follow: Whites = 330; Blacks = 53; clown = 193; nonclowns = 190.

Results

Data in Tables 1 through 3 include summaries of the photographs of clowns contrasted to nonclowns and White students contrasted to Black students. As will be noted on all three tables, students' race rather than role as class clown affected the content of the photographs. The clown data are included on these tables merely to illustrate the degree to which this was so. Additional analyses of the data found that there were no significant differences between the clowns and nonclowns even when contrasted within racial group; that is, there were so few significant differences between White clowns/White nonclowns or between Black clowns/Black nonclowns that those that did appear were considered to be spurious. Data were not analyzed by sex; given the method of sample selction only a few White female and no Black female students ended up participating in this study. Thus, a major limitation of this study is that we are getting primarily a "male's-eye" view of school. Since the significant variations in perceptions of school were found to exist between White and Black adolescents, presentations of findings and their discussion will be limited to these two populations.

Descriptive Data:

Table 1 summarizes the demographic descriptions of the student photographs. All photographs were coded to indicate: (1) sex and race of those included; (2) number of photographs which contained no people; (3) eye contact or lack of it with the photographer; (4) number of individuals in the photographs; and (5) whether the shot was posed or candid. Examination of Table 1 reveals that the photographs of Black students differed significantly from those of White students in that they included more individuals of a sex different from that of the photographer; more frequently included both sexes; rarely were without people in them; and, more often were posed photographs with direct eye contact between the photographer and the subject. Black and White adolescents did not differ in the racial composition of their photographs; both took pictures primarily of same-race individuals. Nor did students differ in the number of individuals they included within their photographs. Elaboration of these differences follows.

Insert Table 1 About Here

Sexual Composition. There were a number of striking differences in the sexual composition of the photographs taken by Whites and Blacks. In fact, significant differences were recorded for all comparisons. Nearly half of the Blacks' photographs included both males and females while both sexes appeared in only a quarter of the photographs taken by Whites ($t = 2.99$, $p < .05$). As far as eighth grade White males are concerned, females live in some other world -- not their's. White males included females within their photographs only when they were participating in a mixed-sex athletic activity such as tumbling; when they were part of a natural group,

such as a classroom; or when they were being described as sex-objects -- or in the words of one White male, a "sexy fox". On the other hand, Black males were just as likely to take photographs of all females as they were of all males.

Of particular importance is the fact that it was rare for Blacks to take pictures which did not include people; only one Black took one photograph of an object rather than an individual. In contrast nearly a fifth of the photographs taken by Whites didn't include any people ($t = 2.96$, $p < .05$). Whites took photographs of various physical features of their school ranging from the front of the building to the bike racks, playing fields, and special purpose rooms inside the school such as the band room.

Racial Composition. There were no significant differences between the racial compositions of the photographs of Black and White adolescents. Both groups took pictures primarily of same-race students. The opposite-race photographs that were taken by Black students included only White teachers. The only White students who appeared in Blacks' photographs were those who were members of mixed-race classrooms. On the other hand, four percent of the White students included Blacks within their photographs in situations other than classroom groups.

While both Blacks and Whites took photographs of opposite-race adults, the Black students were the only ones who seem to have made a conscientious effort to capture on film all adult Blacks around the school. Whites purposefully took pictures of Black teachers and administrators but when other Black adults, such as cafeteria workers, were included within their photographs they were incidental. This is clear from both the location of the Black adults in the photographs and the descriptive labels which were attached to them. For example, a Black student would take a posed picture of the cafeteria workers while Whites took a picture of the cafeteria itself with the Black workers going about their duties in the background.

Eye Contact and Type of Photograph. Over two-thirds of the photographs taken by Black students involved direct eye contact between the photographs taken by the Whites ($t = -3.57$, $p < .01$). This difference is accounted for by the fact that Black students predominantly posed the individuals whom they took pictures of while Whites were much more likely to take candid shots. The main impression received from an examination of the Blacks' photographs is that they are of groups of friends sitting in a row having a formal picture taken; they could be anywhere.

Number of Individuals. There were no significant differences between Blacks and Whites in the number of individuals included within their photographs. Both groups tended to divide their photographs fairly evenly among the three coding categories: only one person; two-to-three people; and, four or more individuals.

The Location-of-the-Photograph Data:

Table 2 presents the analyses of the locations included within the photographs of participating adolescents. These locations were grouped

into three broad categories: (1) Inside the School; (2) Outside the School - Unspecified; and (3) Outside the School - Specified.

Insert Table 2 About Here

There were no significant differences between Black and White students in the locations selected within the school as photographic sites. In both sets of photographs some pictures were taken in classrooms and others in hallways, the cafeteria and bathrooms. The most popular location within the school was "in-session" classes. Recall that participating students were permitted to enter and photograph any class within the school as long as a test was not in progress. In spite of this freedom, students took most of their photographs outside the school building. The majority of these photographs, for both Whites and Blacks, were coded as "Outside School - Unspecified" since location was incidental to the theme of the picture serving instead as a backdrop for the photographic content. Black students, however, took significantly more pictures like this than did Whites ($t = -3.51$, $p < .001$). Blacks tended to pose either a single student or a group of students standing or sitting on a bench. In these cases, the physical location was clearly secondary to the content of the photographs.

The "Outside School - Specified" location was broken down into four subcategories: (1) parking lot, bike racks; (2) playing field or ball courts; (3) fields, woods, surrounding areas; and (4) miscellaneous, including the top of the school building, trash cans, trees, etc. In each of these four subcategories there were no significant differences between frequency of White and Black photographs; this is attributable, however, to the small proportion of photographs coded under each. Overall there was a significant difference between Black and White student usage of specific, recognizable locations around the school ($t = 3.25$, $p < .01$). White adolescents took at least a few photographs in each of the subcategory locations while Black students took none. This difference can be traced back again to the Black emphasis upon posed groups of friends as photographic content.

Photographic Themes:

Finally, the photographs taken by this group of adolescents were coded according to their themes. Table 3 includes all of the themes used in these analyses.

Insert Table 3 About Here

Perhaps the most surprising finding was that there was not a single photograph taken by a Black student whose content could in any way be coded as "teasing, acting silly." And yet, this was the most frequent category into which the photographs of White students were coded ($t = 3.33$, $p < .01$). Examples of the photographs of White which fit this category were: a group

of students jammed under the hood of a school bus with just their legs protruding; kids hanging in strange poses in a tree; and themes poking fun at the physical environment of the school. The content of these photographs along with their descriptive labels left no doubt about the category under which they should be coded.

Blacks took significantly more pictures than did Whites ($t = -2.14$, $p<.05$) of a friend or a group of friends. Interestingly, Blacks also took significantly more photographs of teachers ($t = -2.56$, $p<.05$) than did the White students. When Whites did take pictures of teachers they either posed them in the company of a student or a group of students or captured them in front of their classes. Not a single Black took a photograph of a teacher posed with either a single student or a small group of students; their photographs consisted of groups of teachers or a teacher before his/her class. In other words, Blacks took more formal photographs of teachers than did the Whites.

A quarter of the photographs taken by Blacks had "couples" as their theme; in contrast Whites took significantly fewer photographs with this emphasis ($t = -6.97$, $p<.001$). The descriptive labels attached to the "couple" photographs taken by the Blacks stressed a "boyfriend-girlfriend" relationship. In fact, the couples were frequently shown kissing.

While White eighth graders took pictures descriptive of the physical environment of the school, only one Black photograph had this as a theme and even here there was an individual in the background. The photographs of Whites ranged from merely descriptive to those which made a statement about the school physical plant. In the purely descriptive category were pictures of the front of the school, the playing field, parking lot, or the inside of the library, cafeteria or a classroom. In the statement category, a number of photographs recorded physically damaged or poorly-kept up parts of the school plant accompanied by such descriptors as "our clean school."

Themes contained about equally in the photographs of the White and Black students included: sports and athletic events; discipline and punishment — usually at the hands of the dean or vice-principal; self-photographs; teachers in front of an on-going classroom; bathrooms and the cafeteria; and a variety of other individuals around the school such as janitors, cooks, and teacher aides. It should be noted here that Black students took photographs of all adult Blacks on a school campus whereas Whites tended to include only those Blacks in authority positions such as teachers and administrators.

While differences were not significant, there were also a number of themes represented in the photographs of White students which were totally absent from the photographs of the Black students. Among these themes were: escape or skipping school; teachers posed with a student or group of students other than in a classroom; the principal or other school adminstrators; means of transportation including bikes, school buses, and the cars of particular teachers or the principal; and one picture which by label and content showed a female as a sex object.

Discussion

The research question which prompted this study was whether social role within a classroom (class clown) or race would affect adolescents' visual perceptions of school. This study found no significant differences between the photographs of clowns and nonclowns, but many between those of White and Black adolescents. Indeed, the photographs included within this study provide rich insights into the differing perceptions Black and White adolescents hold toward school, classmates, and various authority figures. While no claim is being made that the set of photographs taken by the participating adolescents in this study captured the totality of their perceptions of school, the content of these photographs should be taken seriously since"...a considerable variety of reliable evidence can be read from photographs of social scenes, for we find in them the complex dimensions of social structure, cultural identity, and psychological expression" (Collier, 1967, p. 33). Because students were permitted an entire school day in which to take their photographs, and most took all of this time, we must assume that they carefully selected the objects and subjects included within them.

Before exploring the differences between the photographs of White and Black adolescents, a prior question must be addressed. Why, when there had been no differences on the pencil-and-paper measures between White and Black class clowns in the initial study, were all the significant differences in the photographic data by race rather than classroom role? Perhaps the simplest explanation is that each of the data collection procedures were tapping perceptions of different dimensions of the school environment. The questionnaire used in the first study called on students to evaluate the public classroom behavior of their classmates and themselves while the directions to photograph self and images of school used in this study permitted students to move into the private world of their friendship groups. In other words, in the public sphere of the classroom Black and White students occupy a variety of roles, including "clown", and perform them in a similar manner. But when students were provided with an instamatic camera and moved outside the bounds of the classroom their private identification became more salient and they conformed to the private-world behaviors appropriate to their racial, or subcultural, group.

One fact emerges clearly from these photographic data -- the private world of the adolescent is defined by race. Students of both races confined almost all of their photographs to same-race individuals. Opposite-race teachers were the prime exception to this rule. Perhaps even more significant than the racial segregation of social relationships in schools was the finding that Black and White adolescents perceived the school environment very differently from each other.

Consistent with research on Afro-American cognitive style (Ramirez, 1974; Shade, 1978, 1982; Young, 1974), this study found that the Black students were more responsive to the people in their environment than were the Whites. Only one Black student took a photograph which did not focus on an individual--and even here there was a person in the background. This "people-orientation" becomes even more obvious when Blacks' photographs are contrasted to those of Whites who took 20 percent of their pictures of various physical features of

the school ranging from the fronts of buildings to the bike racks, playing fields, and special purpose rooms inside the school such as band rooms. Beyond this people-object difference, when Whites did take photographs of people they differed from those taken by Blacks. The photographs of Blacks were primarily of posed groups of friends; rarely included were photographs of students engaged in spontaneous activities. While Whites also posed friends, they were more likely to catch students and teachers in the midst of "natural" activities. Consequently, the collection of photographs taken by Whites contain significantly more candid shots than those of the Blacks and have less direct eye-contact between the subject and the photographer. The formal approach to photographing friends favored by Blacks may suggest that they are not incorporated into the social structure and curriculum of the school to the same extent as the Whites. School for them may serve as a backdrop to social behavior but the institution itself may appear alien.

Two other findings from this study reflect Blacks' social distancing from school. The first of these is the difference between the photographs of teachers as taken by White and Black adolescents. While Blacks actually took more photographs of teachers than did Whites, their's reflect the authority position of the teacher within the school. Blacks took photographs of teachers in front of classes or as members of a group of teachers. Whites also took some photographs of teachers in front of classes, but most of their pictures were of teachers with a single student or a small group and conveyed a familiar, informal atmosphere. The second area of obvious social distancing from school was the ability of White students, but not Blacks, to take photographs which poked fun at the school or which had a "teasing" or "acting silly" component. The photographs of Whites displayed an ability to critize various aspects of the school, its program and of themselves — Blacks' did not. There is no implication in these findings that Blacks do not have a sense of humor; in fact, one half of the Blacks who participated in this study did so because classmates saw them as class clowns. Since humor can serve to release tension, increase sense of group cohesion and convey information about students' attitudes and feelings, the lack of humor among Blacks as it relates to school should raise serious questions about how Blacks perceive school and experience the "formal" aspects of its rule structures.

Black and White males differed in their perceptions of females. Black males included females in their photographs much more frequently than did White males. As far as eighth grade White males are concerned, females were almost nonexistent. Additionally, Blacks never labeled photographs of females using "sex-object" language whereas several Whites did. Altogether this suggests that friendship patterns may vary by racial group; we have almost no data on the basis of clique group formations or the operation of peer pressure among Black adolescents.

And finally, Black students took pictures of all the adult Blacks in the school including teachers, janitors, aides and cooks. Whites occasionally included pictures of these individuals, but with the exception of Black teachers and administrators they were included as part of the activity or location and not because of the Blacks as individuals. This is consistent

with observed behavior of Black adults. Black adults are noted for greeting other Black adults whom they pass in public whether they know them or not. Additionally, adult Blacks tend to develop talking-acquaintantships with other Blacks they see frequently even when of widely varying social status. These adult behaviors may be cultural or may be reflective of minority status in the same way in which Americans, when abroad, greet all other Americans. Another explanation for the inclusion of adult Blacks in the photographs of Black adolescents may be their search for adult role models in their immediate environment -- in this case school.

Examination of this set of adolescent photographs has revealed a school where people are more important than things, especially to Blacks. Additonally, this social world is divided along racial lines. Significant differences between Whites and Blacks were noted in who was included in photographs, type of photographs taken, where they were taken, and the themes they represented. Are these differences cultural? We are probably on safe ground when we answer this question in the affirmative because as Cole and Scribner (1974) have pointed out a child's method of perception as well as memorization and thinking are inseparably bound to the patterns of activity, communication and social relations of their culture. But at the same time the data are too scant for us to take the next step and say that differences in visual perceptions of school are racial. Those researchers interested in the application of cognitive anthropology to American cultural groups have difficulty sorting out the contributions of ethnic membership and social class. The purpose of this study was not to join this debate but rather to determine the similarities and differences between the visual perceptions of school held by White and Black adolescents. While all the significant differences in this study were by race, these may as easily reflect social class as racial differences. Nevertheless this was an important preliminary step in our study of racial differences in the experience of schooling since, "...the capacity to fix and externalize visual experience immediately raises the question of what people choose to render into permanent photographic images" (Milgram, 1977, p. 50). Whether the differences in visual perceptions of schooling uncovered in this study are based on social class or race, they are indeed real. The group of photographs taken by the Black students in this study indicate that they see school as a formal institution which has little personal relationship to their lives.

While we may not at this time be able to readily identify a cognitive style specific to Afro-Americans, a growing volume of research has been conducted on the relationship between socialization experiences, cognitive style and learning strategies (Cohen, 1969; Hansen, 1979). Since these interact and effect achievement, educators need to be sensitive to the differing perceptions of school held by White and Black students especially as these differences interact with the formal curriculum. On a more positive note, however, the fact that Black students were selected as clowns in this study proportionate to their numbers within their classes, should be taken as an indicator of the extent to which they were able to perform in the public arena of the classroom in a manner similar to that of the Whites. Additionally, these Black students were seen by themselves and others as performing this role in the same manner

as White clowns. We may conclude from these findings that many Black students have successfully learned how to occupy social roles within the classroom even though their perceptions of school differ widely from those of the Whites. If we take as one objective of school desegregation the teaching of appropriate public-world behaviors essential to success as an adult (Arensberg & Kimball, 1965; Kimball, 1974; Kimball & McClelland, 1962) then these data indicate that this is taking place on at least some levels.

References

Arensberg, C. & Kimball, S. Culture and community. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1965.

Cole, M., Gay, J., Glick, J. & Sharp, D. The cultural context of learning and thinking. New York: Basic Books, 1971.

Cole, M. & Scribner, S. Culture and thought: A psychological introduction. New York: Wiley, 1974.

Collier, J. Visual anthropology: Photography as a research method. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967.

Cohen, R. Conceptual styles, culture conflict and nonverbal tests of intelligence. American Anthropologist, 1969, 71, 828-856.

Damico, S. What's funny about a crisis! Clowns in the classroom. Contemporary Education, 1980, 51, 131-135.

Damico, S. Clowning is a serious business. Middle School Journal, 1981, 12, 10-13.

Damico, S., Bell-Nathaniel, A., & Green, C. Effects of school organizational structure on interracial friendship in middle schools. Journal of Educational Research, 1981, 74, 388-393.

Damico, S., Bell-Nathaniel, A., & Green, C. The affective middle school and its interracial climate. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Boston, 1980.

Damico, S., Green, C. & Bell-Nathaniel, A. The relationship between school organizational structure and quantity and quality of interracial contacts. Journal of Educational Equity and Leadership, in press.

Damico, S. & Purkey, W. Class clowns: A study of middle school students. American Educational Research Journal, 1978, 15, 391-398.

Goodchilds, J. Effects of being witty on position in the social structure of a small group. Sociometry, 1959, 22, 261-272.

Goodchilds, J. On being witty: Causes, correlates, and consequences. In J. H. Goldstein & P. E. McGhee (Eds.) The psychology of humor. New York: Academic Press, 1972.

Goodchilds, J. & Smith, E. The wit and his group. Human Relations, 1964, 17, 23-31.

Greenfield, P. M. & Bruner, J. Learning and language: Work with the Wolof. Psychology Today, July, 1971, pp 38-43; 74-79.

Hansen, J. F. Sociocultural perspectives on human learning: An introduction to educational anthropology. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc, 1979.

Kerlinger, F. Behavioral research: A conceptual approach. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1979.

Kimball, S. Culture and the educative process. New York: Teachers College Press, 1974.

Kimball, S. & McClellan, J. Education and the new America. New York: Vintage Books, 1962.

Milgram, S. The image-freezing machine. Psychology Today, January, 1977, pp 50; 52; 108.

Musello, C. Studying the home mode: An exploration of family photography and visual communication. Studies in Visual Communication, 1980, 6, 23-42.

O'Connell, W. E. The social aspects of wit and humor. Journal of Social Psychology, 1969, 79, 183-187.

Ramirez III, M. Cognitive styles of children of three ethnic groups in the United States. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 1974, 5, 212-219.

Shade, B. Social psychological characteristics of achieving black children. Negro Educational Review, 1978, 29, 80-86.

Shade, B. Afro-American cognitive style: A variable in school success? Review of Educational Research, 1982, 52, 219-244.

Sontag, S. On photography. New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 1977.

Wagner, J. Images of information: Still photography in the social sciences. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1979.

Werner, E. Cross-cultural child development. Monterey, Calif.: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1979.

Worth, S. & Adair, J. Through Navajo eyes: An exploration in film communication and anthropology. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972.

Young, V. A black American socialization pattern. American Ethnologist, 1974, 1, 405-413.

Ziller, R. Photography and psychology. The BC Photographs. Fall, 1974, p. 7.

Ziller, R., Amerikaner, M. & Schauble, P. Images: The uses of photographs in personal counseling. Personnel & Guidance Journal, 1980, 59, 68-73.

Ziller, R. & Combs J. Photographic self-concept of counselors. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1977a, 24.

Ziller, R. & Lewis, D. Orientations: Self, social, and environmental percepts through auto-photography. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 1981, 7, 338-343.

Ziller, R. & Smith, D. E. A phenomenological utilization of photographs. Journal of Phenomenological Psychology, 1977b, 7, 172-185.

Table 1

Adolescents' Photographs
Analysis of Descriptive Data by Race and Class Clown

Descriptions	Proportion of Photographs: All Whites	All Blacks	t	Proportion of Photographs: All Clowns	All Nonclowns	t
Sex of Individuals in Photographs:						
Same sex as photographer	.39	.25	2.00*	.40	.38	NSD
Opposite sex fm photographer	.15	.26	-2.20*	.17	.17	NSD
Both sexes in photographs	.27	.47	-2.99*	.26	.34	NSD
No people in the photographs	.18	.02	2.96*	.16	.16	NSD
Race of Individuals in Photographs:						
Same race as photographer	.66	.74	NSD	.66	.67	NSD
Opposite race fm photographer	.05	.09	NSD	.06	.04	NSD
Both races in photographs	.10	.15	NSD	.11	.10	NSD
Eye Contact in Photographs:						
Eye Contact	.42	.67	-3.57**	.49	.52	NSD
No Eye Contact	.38	.30	NSD	.35	.37	NSD
Number of Individuals in Photographs:						
One Person	.29	.36	NSD	.34	.26	NSD
2 to 3 people	.25	.32	NSD	.23	.26	NSD
4+ people	.29	.30	NSD	.26	.32	NSD
Type of Photograph:						
Posed	.49	.70	-2.84*	.48	.56	NSD
Candid	.51	.30	2.84*	.52	.44	NSD
	n = 330	n = 53		n = 193	n = 190	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table 2

Differences in the Location of the Photographs
of
Adolescents by Race and Class Clown

Locations of Photographs	Proportion of Photographs: All Whites	All Blacks	t	Proportion of Photographs: All Clowns	All Nonclowns	t
Inside the School:	.41	.33	NSD	.32	.32	NSD
Classrooms	.18	.13	NSD	.13	.18	NSD
Hallways, teachers lounge, etc.	.11	.09	NSD	.10	.07	NSD
Cafeteria	.09	.05	NSD	.06	.05	NSD
Bathrooms	.03	.06	NSD	.03	.02	NSD
School - Outside, Unspecified	.40	.66	-3.51***	.45	.42	NSD
School - Outside, Specified	.17	.00	3.25**	.23	.28	NSD
Parking lot, bike racks	.05	.00	NSD	.06	.03	NSD
Playing field or ball courts	.05	.00	NSD	.13	.16	NSD
Fields, woods, surrounding areas	.02	.00	NSD	.02	.02	NSD
Miscellaneous: top of sch. bldg; trash cans, fence, hanging out windows, etc.	.05	.00	NSD	.02	.07	NSD
	n = 330	n = 53		n = 193	n = 190	

** p < .01; *** p < .001

Table 3

The Photographic Themes
of
Adolescents by Race and Class Clown

Themes in the Photographs	Proportion of Photographs All Whites	All Blacks	t	Proportion of Photographs All Clowns	All Nonclowns	t
Sports, athletics, organized games	.09	.06	NSD	.09	.09	NSD
Teasing, acting silly	.18	.00	3.33**	.16	.15	NSD
Escape, skipping school	.03	.00	NSD	.02	.03	NSD
Discipline, punishment	.05	.02	NSD	.05	.04	NSD
Self-portrayal	.02	.04	NSD	.03	.01	NSD
Posed or Candid photographs of people:						
1. Friend(s) or student(s)	.13	.25	-2.14*	.14	.16	NSD
2. Teacher(s)	.08	.19	-2.56*	.10	.10	NSD
3. Teacher(s) with student(s)	.02	.00	NSD	.03	.01	NSD
4. Teachers in classes	.09	.10	NSD	.07	.11	NSD
5. Administrators or deans	.02	.00	NSD	.02	.01	NSD
6. Others (janitors, cooks, etc.)	.02	.02	NSD	.02	.02	NSD
Transportation (bikes, buses, cars)	.03	.00	NSD	.02	.03	NSD
Sexual and Scatological themes:						
1. Couples	.02	.25	-6.97***	.05	.05	NSD
2. Females as sex objects	.01	.00	NSD	.03	.01	NSD
3. Bathrooms	.01	.04	NSD	.01	.01	NSD
Physical descriptions of the school	.13	.02	2.34*	.12	.11	NSD
Food, eating, cafeteria	.08	.04	NSD	.07	.08	NSD
	n = 330	n = 53		n = 193	n = 190	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$